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(Secret)

Draft of Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater
East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

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Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater East Asia
Co-Prosperity Sphere (draft)

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Part I

Outline of Construction(1) The Plan

The Imperial country is a manifestation of morality, the propagation of the Imperial influence being its original duty and the ideal of Hakkō Ichiū /the eight corners under one roof/ being the spirit of the national founding. The Imperial country will not move unless for the cause of justice.

The propagation of the Imperial influence begins with the practise of morality in East Asia grounded on the original spirit of the Imperial influence supported by the whole nation and aims at the promotion of East Asiatic culture by means of the unification of East Asia in a moral manner. For this purpose it is necessary to foster the increased power of the Imperial country, to cause East Asia to return to its original form of independence and co-prosperity by shaking off the yoke of Europe and America, and to let its countries and peoples develop their respective abilities in peaceful cooperation and secure livelihood.

(2) The Form of East Asiatic Independence and Co-Prosperity:-

The states, their citizens and resources, comprised in those areas pertaining to the Pacific Central Asia and the Indian Ocean formed into one general union are to be established as an autonomous zone of peaceful living and common prosperity on behalf of the peoples of the nations of East Asia. The area including Japan, Manchuria, North China, lower Yangtze River and the Russian Maritime Province, forms the nucleus of the East Asiatic Union. The Imperial country possesses a duty as the leader of the East Asiatic Union.

The above purpose presupposes the inevitable emancipation or independence of Eastern Siberia, China, Indo-China, the South Seas, Australia, and India.

(3) Regional Division in the East Asiatic Union and the National Defense Sphere for the Imperial Country.

In the Union of East Asia, the Imperial Country is at once the stabilizing power and the leading influence to enable the Imperial Country actually to become the central influence in East Asia, the first necessity is the consolidation of the inner belt of East Asia; and the East Asiatic Sphere shall be divided as follows for this purpose:

The Inner Sphere -- It is the vital sphere for the Imperial Country; it includes Japan, Manchuria, North China, the lower Yangtze Area and the Russian Maritime area.

The Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere -- This is the smaller self-supplying sphere of East Asia and includes the inner sphere plus Eastern Siberia, China, Indo-China and the South Seas.

The Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere -- This is the larger self-supplying sphere of East Asia, and includes the smaller co-prosperity sphere, plus Australia, India and island groups in the Pacific. Parallel with the divisions shown above and at the same time the following spheres of national defense for the Imperial Country shall be set up, and those spheres shall be made the basis for the defense of East Asia.

Basic Sphere -- It covers approximately the inner sphere and is the zone which requires absolute safety.

Defense Sphere -- Covering approximately the smaller co-prosperity sphere, it is the zone which must be perfectly defended against any invasion from Europe or America.

Sphere of Influence -- Generally corresponding to the size of the Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere, it is this zone in which a superior position should be maintained against attacks from Europe or America.

For the present, the smaller co-prosperity sphere (the defense sphere) shall be the zone in which the construction of East Asia and the stabilization of national defense are to be aimed at. After their completion there shall be a gradual expansion toward the construction of the Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere (the sphere of influence).

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(4) Outline of East Asiatic Administration.

It is intended that the unification of Japan, Manchukuo and China in neighbourly friendship be realized by the settlement of Sino-Japanese problems by the crushing of hostile influences in the Chinese interior, and by the bringing up of a new China in tune with the rapid construction of the Inner Sphere. Aggressive American and British influences in East Asia shall be driven out of the area of Indo-China and the South Seas, and this area shall be brought into our defense sphere. The war with Britain and America shall be prosecuted for that purpose.

The Russian aggressive influence in East Asia shall be driven out. Eastern Siberia shall be cut off from the Soviet regime and be included in our defense sphere. For this purpose, a war with the Soviets is expected. It is considered possible that this Northern problem may break out before the general settlement of the present Sino-Japanese and the Southern problems if the situation renders this unavoidable. Next the independence of Australia, India, etc. shall gradually be brought about. For this purpose, a recurrence of war with Britain and her allies is expected. The contraction of a Greater Mongolian State is expected during the above phase. The construction of the Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere is expected to require at least 20 years from the present time.

(5) The Building of the National Strength.

Since the Imperial Country is the center and pioneer of Oriental moral and cultural reconstruction, the officials and people of this country must return to the spirit of the Orient and acquire a thorough understanding of the spirit of the national moral character.

In the economic construction of the country, Japanese and Manchurian national power shall first be consolidated; then the unification of Japan, Manchukuo and China, shall be effected (and especially the forging of Japan, Manchukuo and North China into a tight union). Thus a central industry will be constructed in East Asia; and the necessary relations established with the Southern Seas.

The standard for the construction of the national power and its military force, so as to meet various situations that might affect the stages of East Asiatic administration and the national defense sphere shall be so set as to be capable of driving off any British, American, Soviet or Chinese counter-influences in the future.

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Part II

Aim of ConstructionChapter 1. Spirit of Construction.

The Emperor is augustly the center of the universe and the origin of morality. The Imperial Country is, therefore, the manifestation of morality and the criterion of the world. With these facts as their creed and spiritual rule, the subjects of the Imperial Country intend to fulfil the dynamic and historic mission of establishing a world moral order.

However, in recent years, the nations of Europe and America, taking advantage of their material civilization, have penetrated the East and prey upon it; and the moralistic East has consequently been changed into a "Europized Asia". And it is none other than Japan, the divine country, that has opposed and rejected that invasion.

Now things have come to such a pass that the extortions of America, Britain and other powers threaten the existence of the Imperial Country. This is intolerable to God and man alike. Now the Imperial Country has determined to consolidate the national foundation by crushing their influence with divine military power to save East Asia and cause it to return to its original nature, and to bring a renaissance upon East Asia by its unification under this grand and righteous ideal. By this means East Asia will be made a peaceful and secure place to live in in conformity with the will of Heaven. The gist of the aim is to build up the moral culture of the Orient. In other words, under the Greater East Asia Union, the construction of morality, the fostering of original abilities and the fusion of cultures shall be the common ideal; neighbourly friendship and cooperative peace, joint defense, and economic cooperation shall be the rule of inter-States relationships; and the revival of humanity shall be the spiritual principle of national life. The Imperial country is the source of all the above.

Once the moral order of East Asia is thus accomplished, it can be expected that the countries of Europe and America will be so influenced by it that they will look up to it as a fine example and, eventually cast off their selfish life view of materialism and establish a moral new order.

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Chapter 2 - Defense(1) The National Defense Sphere and the Defense of East Asia.

1. In order to ensure our national defense from European and American invasion, it is necessary to safeguard East Asia as a whole. And to safeguard East Asia that is, to perfect the defense of the Imperial Country, will eventually serve to fulfil the national policy.

(2) For the National Defense of the Imperial Country and the Defense of East Asia, the smaller co-prosperity sphere shall generally be the sphere of defense, its circumference being the main defense line. A perfect defense shall be planned against the invasion from Europe and America, and the Inner Sphere shall be kept absolutely safe as the basic sphere of national defense, the two defensive parts being utilized as the double corridors of defense.

Furthermore the outer belt of the Greater Co-prosperity Sphere shall be made into a sphere of influence for the national defense of the Imperial Country and for the safeguarding of East Asia. In this way a superior position against European and American invasion will gradually be established.

(3) The following are the particularly important areas for the national defense of the Imperial Country and for the safeguarding of East Asia:

1. The Kanchatka Peninsula area.
2. The Eastern Siberia area and the Mongolian region.
3. The area west of the Central China region.
4. The Indo-China Peninsula area, especially the southern part of the Malay Peninsula and its nearby districts.
5. The Sunda Archipelago and the New Guinea area.
6. The eastern part of the Inner South Seas.

In addition to the above areas, a necessary area shall be chosen behind the first line key points mentioned above, and a consolidated defense in depth shall be established there.

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(4) The following are communication lines whose defense must be specially secured:

1. Land, sea and air routes in the Inner Sphere.
2. Sea and air trunk routes from the Inner Sphere to the Dutch East Indies.

(5) In the Sphere of Influence, a gradual expansion of bases shall be made to important strategic strongholds in that sphere.

Chapter 2. Defensive Power:

* * * * *

Given below in the table is an estimate of the Powers' Capacity for future aggressive operations against East Asia 20 years hence:

Table Showing Estimate of Powers' Aggressive Capacity Against East Asia 20 years Hence

Classifi- cation	Front line Numerical Strength (Unit 1,000 men)	Front Line Air Strength (Unit 1,000 planes)	Naval Ves- sels (Unit 10,000 Tons)
China	4,000 6,000	Considerable number	some
Soviet	2,600 5,200	30 60	50
U. S.	1,300 2,600	50 100	350
Britain	800 1,600	30 60	130
Germany		30 60	80 (Italian /units/ included)
Notes	<p>1. The front line numerical strength includes Army, Navy and Air Forces. The strength behind the front is estimated to be almost the same as the front line strength.</p> <p>2. Although the number of Naval vessels is figured as after 10 years, a considerable change is expected to occur during the progress of the present war.</p>		

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The following are the numerical strengths of the Powers for military operations in East Asia. The military forces available to Britain, America and Soviet Russia for East Asiatic operations will vary about one third of their respective forces, in conformity with changes in the situation in Europe and America.

1. In the case of America and Britain combined:

Frontal strength	3 million men
First Line Air Forces	40 thousand 100 - odd thousand planes
Naval Vessels	More than 4,800,000 tons

2. Soviet Union:

Frontal strength	4 million men
First Line Air Forces	20,000 -- 50,000 planes
Naval Vessels	Over 500,000 tons

3. America, Britain and Soviet Combined:

Frontal strength	7 million men
First Line Air Forces	60,000 -- nearly 200,000 planes
Naval vessels	Over 5,300,000 tons

4. China

Frontal Strength	4,000,000 -- 6,000,000 men
First Line Air Forces	A considerable number
Naval vessels	Some

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It is necessary for the defense of the Imperial Country for it to build up its wartime military power on the basis of destroying the afore-mentioned military forces of the powers. A mechanical calculation is based on the afore-mentioned figures will show that the Imperial Country needs the following enormous military strength.

Frontal Numerical Strength	10,000,000 men (20,000,000 when the forces behind front are included)
First Line Air Forces	60,000 to nearly 200,000 planes (when the forces behind the front are included, the number rises to 180,000 -- 600,000)
Naval Vessels	5,300,000 tons

* * * * *

Chapter 3. Political Construction

(1) Basic Plan

The realization of the great ideal of constructing Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity requires not only the complete prosecution of the current Greater East Asia current war but also presupposes another great war in the future. Therefore, the following two points must be made the primary starting points for the political construction of East Asia during the course of the next twenty years.

1. Preparation for war with the other spheres of the world.
2. Unification and construction of the East Asia Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The following are the basic principles for the political construction of East Asia, when the above two points are taken into consideration:

- a. The politically dominant influence of European and American countries in the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere shall be gradually driven out and the area shall enjoy its liberation from the shackles hitherto forced upon it.

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b. The desires of the peoples in the sphere for their independence shall be respected and endeavors shall be made for their fulfillment, but proper and suitable forms of government shall be decided for them in consideration of military and economic requirements and of the historical, political and cultural elements particular to each area.

It must also be noted that the independence of various peoples of East Asia should be based upon the idea of constructing East Asia as "independent countries existing within the New Order of East Asia" and that this conception differs from an independence based on the idea of liberalism and national self-determination.

c. During the course of construction, military unification is deemed particularly important, and the military zones and key points necessary for defense shall be directly or indirectly under the control of our country.

d. The peoples of the sphere shall obtain their proper positions, the unity of the people's minds shall be effected and the unification of the sphere shall be realized with the Imperial country as its center.

e. The autonomous position of the sphere shall be strengthened by mutual supplying of needs. An outline of the distribution of the East Asiatic peoples and their character is given in the Table 6 /T.N. missing/.

(2) The political form of the East Asiatic areas after twenty years.

The ideal political forms 20 years hence for the areas of East Asia, when organized upon the principle mentioned above may be given as follows: (They are the ultimate forms, and the time and means of their realization will vary according to the situation. Military affairs within the Co-Prosperity Sphere will be taken up by the Imperial Country in view of the necessity for defense. The details of this defense are, however, here excluded.)

1. Manchukuo

An increasingly steady growth of Manchukuo is aimed at along the lines of the ideals on which it was founded -- to effect Japanese-Manchukuoan unification. Also it shall be made a full-fledged base for military operations against the Soviets. Emigration plans shall be furthered in order to realize racial cooperation and peace.

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2. China

In line with the already fixed plan, the unification of Japan, Manchukuo and China shall be realized as the basis for the establishment of East Asia, China being one of the units of East Asian unification.

3. Soviet Eastern Territory

a. Coastal areas shall be incorporated into our territory as soon as possible.

b. Areas other than above-mentioned places shall be made into special regions belonging to Japan or in some cases Manchukuo.

4. Mongolia

When the situation permits, Inner and Outer Mongolia shall be unified; their autonomy shall be recognized within the bounds of the capacity of the Mongolian race; and ultimately, if possible, a greater Mongolian State shall be established. This area is suitable for the formation of a racial country, both when viewed from the military and thought requirements, and from the standpoint of racial desire and historical considerations, but as far as present conditions go, the low capacity of the Mongolian race must be taken into consideration.

5. The Philippines

In line with the long cherished desire of the people of the islands, the country shall be granted the status of an independent country as soon as possible. The extent of the internal administration carried on by the Filipinos themselves shall also be increased. However, some places of military importance shall be made special defense areas. The ruling classes of this area have a comparatively high standard of living and the area is not too extensive. Therefore it is recognized that the people of the area will probably be able to stand on their own feet.

6. French Indo-China

When the proper time comes, autonomy centering around the Annamese and under the protection of our country shall be permitted. Later this status shall be changed to that of nationhood. However, some places of military importance shall be made special areas for joint defense.

The Annamese independence movement has a long history and has been carried on with considerable intensity.

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But, generally speaking, the level of the people is low as a race, and their political capability is so weak that they cannot be said to have the capacity for full-fledged self-government. Therefore, though they shall be independent from the standpoint of racial liberation, they may need our protection for many years.

7. Thailand

Thailand will satisfy her cherished desire to recover her lost lands and strengthen her cooperation with our country. She will also be recognized as an independent country forming one unit of the East Asiatic Union.

In view of her racial, historical and particularly positional importance, Thailand will establish a specially intimate cooperative relationship with Japan in the military, political, economic and cultural fields.

8. Burma

Burma will be accorded a high degree of autonomy as soon as possible, in accordance with the desires of the people. As soon as possible thereafter it will become an independent State.

This area is notable for its comparatively intense anti-British movement which has gone on for some time before and, it is also reasonable from the cultural and historical points of view to let Burma become an independent country. However, due to her people's generally low standard of living, her importance from the viewpoint of East Asiatic resources, and also because of her key position from the political standpoint (because of the presence of many influential Indians), in any schemes toward India, Burma will necessitate some protective interference.

9. British Malaya and North Borneo

a. Singapore and such of its nearby areas (including the Dutch East Indies) as are of military importance shall be made parts of our territory at an appropriate time.

b. In the other regions, sultans or local lords shall be allowed to exist, and, after their unification, they shall be our protectorate, their autonomy being allowed.

The people of this area are too low in living standards and political capacity to stage any racial movements. Therefore it is necessary to bring up the native races in conformity with the military and economic requirements.

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10. The Dutch East Indies and nearby areas (excluding areas to be incorporated)

They shall have their independence, when a suitable time comes, under the organization of an "Indonesian Federation." They shall be placed under the protection of our country. This protection is necessitated by economic and military considerations.

In the area hitherto called the Dutch East Indies, the area centering around Java has, it is recognized, a comparatively high standard of culture, and also has carried on a rather intensive campaign for independence. Culturally and politically /Javanese/ independence is recognized to be appropriate. But the rest of the land despite a few installations and businesses is generally an area of primitive barbarity with a small number of native tribes. This is very marked in Guinea. In view of the above circumstances and from the military development of East Asiatic Sphere natural resources points of view, the area will, even after its independence, require considerable protection and interference.

11. Hawaii, Midway, the Australian mandates, New Guinea, the Eastern Archipelagos, New Caledonia and other South Pacific Islands

As these islands are of great military importance and have no notable races, they shall be made a part of our territory as necessary.

12. Australia and New Zealand.

They shall become our territory ultimately as the construction of East Asia progresses. The aim shall be to make them areas for the emigration of the Japanese race.

13. India

In accordance with the progress of East Asiatic construction, the aim will be to make India an independent country and a unit in the East Asiatic Union. The necessary relationship with our country will be maintained.

(3) The Cardinal Points of East Asiatic Unification

East Asia can be said to be a Co-Prosperity Sphere only when the peoples of the sphere have realized a firm and solid union into the same ideal of East Asiatic construction as our own. Especially in view of the probable strife against the other world spheres while

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the construction is carried on, the East Asiatic peoples' ties should be strong enough as to enable our country to rise in leadership of the countries of the Sphere.

That purpose primarily and essentially necessitates the perfection of the Imperial Country's high-degree defense structure and the strengthening of the national power spiritually and materially. Only on this foundation can the Union of East Asia be set up.

Since the construction of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere has the Imperial Country as its center and since the construction is furthered by the Imperial Country, the substance of the unification lies in the Imperial Country becoming actually the center and in the strengthening of the direct ties between our country and the countries and nations of the Sphere. The detailed methods of unification vary according to the differences in the people's conditions (in their politics, economics, histories and cultures), and vary also with varying degrees of military importance as seen from the standpoint of the defense of our country and of East Asia. Though the details depend on the country involved, some principles in this connection may be given as follows:

1. Cooperation among Japan, Manchukuo and China shall be strengthened.

2. Manchukuo in the north and the Malayan area in the south shall be the key points of East Asiatic construction. The relations of both areas with our country shall be unseverably strong.

Committees shall be formed for instance by the peoples of the sphere under Japanese guidance for mutual settlement of the peoples' various affairs and for mutual understanding and cooperation. The offices of the committees shall be, if necessary, located in Japan.

An absolutely uniform system of administration shall not be adopted for the unification of the peoples whose historical, cultural and particularly living conditions vary to a notable extent.

3. Military key points shall be secured.

4. Popular economic dependence upon our country shall be strengthened.

5. The common ideals of the establishment of the co-prosperity sphere shall be enforced for that construction.

6. Emigration of able-bodied Japanese overseas shall be encouraged.

7. The universal diffusion of the Japanese language and the inter-change of culture shall be carried out.

Chapter 4. Thought and Cultural Construction

Chapter 1. General Aim in Thought

The ultimate aim in thought construction in East Asia is to make East Asiatic peoples revere the Imperial influence by propagating the Imperial Way based on the spirit of construction, and to establish the belief that uniting solely under this influence is the one and only way to the eternal growth and development of East Asia.

And during the next 20 years (the period during which the above ideal is to be reached) it is necessary to make the nations and peoples of East Asia realize the world-historical significance of the establishment of the New Order in East Asia, and in the common consciousness of East Asiatic unity, to liberate East Asia from the shackles of Europe and America and to establish the common conviction of constructing a New Order based on East Asiatic morality.

Occidental individualism and materialism shall be rejected and a moral world view, the basic principle of whose morality shall be the Imperial Way, shall be established. The ultimate object to be achieved is not exploitation but co-prosperity and mutual help, not competitive conflict but mutual assistance and mild peace, not a formal view of equality but a view of order based on righteous classification, not an idea of rights but an idea of service, and not several world views but one unified world view.

Chapter 2. General Aim in Culture

The essence of the traditional culture of the Orient shall be developed and manifested. And, casting off the negative and conservative cultural characteristics of the continents (India and China) on one hand, and taking in the good points of Western culture on the other, an Oriental culture of morality, on a grand scale and subtly refined, shall be created.

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Part III. Plans for Construction

Chapter 1. Constructive Program

(1) Stages of construction

1. The administration of Greater East Asia must be primarily based upon the revival of the whole of China as well as on the exclusion of European and American influence from East Asia. Therefore, it is necessary for us to expect continuous war or a series of wars from now on, including the China Incident and the present war against Britain and America.

However, we must not jump to the conclusion that construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere can be attained simply by excluding aggressive influences by means of war. An enormous effort will be required for a long time for the construction itself, and in view of the fact that part of such construction is indispensable for the prosecution of the war, we will have to depend on continued efforts to fight and build at the same time.

2. Namely, from the viewpoint of war and construction, we contemplate some such stages as the three following, and we may be sure that each of them will cover a rather long period.

- a. Period of War (Period of Urgent Construction)
- b. Period of Post-war Management

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(Period of Adjustment and Construction)

c. Period of Preparation for the Next War.

(Period of Expansion and Construction)

a. Period of War.

This is the period of the accomplishment of the current Greater East Asia War, and the winning of the war should be considered before anything else. Accordingly, the urgent part of the construction indispensable for the present should be resolutely carried out, and full-fledged construction should be carried out by means of power not needed for the prosecution of the war. This is the quickening period of East Asiatic administration.

b. Post-war Management Period.

While we are adjusting the fighting power of the Empire, taking advantage of any temporary stabilization of the international situation, we will require post-war management against hostile remaining influences. We shall carry out in a positive manner a policy excluding or assimilating such influences. And we must grasp and gather together various peoples and races within the area, thus gaining the result of economic co-prosperity, and gradually realizing the great step of constructing East Asia. This stage will not be shorter, in any event, than the period of war.

c. Period of Expansion.

First importance should be attached to the development and replenishment of Japan's national strength. The main point will be to establish the foundations of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere to the extent of a small self-supporting area. In the meantime, we will adopt policies which will lead to the emancipation or independence of Australia and India, while trying simultaneously to strengthen our preparations for total war in anticipation of a second war with Britain and her Allies.

At the end of this stage which may be tentatively set as some twenty years after the end of the present war, we shall have war with Britain (America).

(2) Cardinal Points of Construction.

1. The chief object of establishing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere lies first in the stimulation of the completion of the defensive strength of East Asia. By the building of such a sphere, we will exclude European and American fetters from East Asia, and we must lead the various nations within this sphere to unite materially and spiritually with Japan as the center. For this purpose, we must carry out an epoch-making extension of Japan's national strength, especially of her war preparations, and fully achieve the economic construction. These should go along side by

(Period of Adjustment and Construction)

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(Period of Expansion and Construction)

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sion with political and ideological, as well as cultural, construction.

2. A military power so strong as to be capable of subduing and crushing various influences inside or outside of the Sphere shall be fostered and put in readiness. And in order to make this power serve as the pivot of East Asiatic unification, and to secure the key points and communication lines for the construction and defense of East Asia, the soonest possible grasp of important areas, and the establishment of military strongholds such as Army, Navy, and air bases, shall be effected.

3. Economic construction will increase defensive power, and at the same time serve as the basis for the unification of the peoples and nations of the Sphere. The Inner Sphere especially shall be the center of construction for heavy industry and chemical industry in East Asia, and shall thereby serve as the core for the economic unification of East Asia. An effort shall also be made, in the construction, to establish the necessary transport power, and particularly, to strengthen wartime transport, and also, to set up a sphere currency and a trade system which will center around Japan.

4. The primary significance of the political construction lies in educating China in the direction of her cooperation with Japan, ensuring the consolidation of the Inner Sphere countries, respecting the desires of the peoples and nations to the maximum extent, and in placing them all in such positions that they will be able to enjoy their respective national existences.

Proper guidance shall be furnished to every nation and people of East Asia according to its standard of living and capability. By this means the necessary strengthening of political power in its relation to our country and for the construction of East Asia will be carried out.

In thought and cultural construction, every nation and people shall be freed from its European and American colonial characteristics. The Imperial Country will, as the leader, take up their guidance, promote the original spirit of the East, and a thorough understanding of Oriental culture, take in the good points of Western culture and create the moral culture of East Asia.

The local traditions and cultures in East Asia shall be respected and maintained to the extent that they do not hinder the construction of the Co-Prosperity Sphere; they shall be encouraged to develop and improve, so that they may serve for the growth of the culture of East Asia.

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CHAPTER 2
Plan for War

(1) Guidance in War.

1. The current war shall be resolutely prosecuted, and the basis of the construction of the Inner Sphere and the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere shall be established. ✓
 2. After the termination of the war, the construction of the Inner Sphere shall be perfected by other means than military power, and at the same time the construction of the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere shall be expedited and supplemented. For this purpose a part of our military power may be employed to such an extent as not to lead to large-scale warfare. ✓
 3. Next, while recurrence of war with China is being avoided, the aggressive influence of the Soviets, Britain, and America against East Asia shall at the proper times (and gradually, if possible) be crushed. And together with the perfecting of the Smaller Co-Prosperity Sphere, the construction of the Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere shall be expedited. The advantages of our country shall be utilized for this purpose, and in particular cooperation with Germany and Italy shall be maintained so as to restrain hostile countries in Europe. ✓
 4. As for China, an effort shall be made to educate the new country toward cooperation with Japan as previously planned. Care shall be taken to avoid recurrence of war between Japan and China. And, if possible, Chinese active cooperation with Japan shall be expedited. ✓
 5. As for the Soviets, our general plan is to avoid war with them for the present. However, if and when a good opportunity arrives during the present war, or if signs of American-Soviet unification against Japan appear, steps may be taken within the Defense Sphere. ✓
- As long as a menace exists in Eastern Siberia, a war with the Soviets is inevitable. Therefore, if possible, a good opportunity shall be taken advantage of in the future for crushing this threat prior to the next war with America and Britain. From this point of view, Soviet approaches to America and Britain shall be closely watched. ✓
6. As for Britain and America, although their alliance against Japan is in general to be expected, the alliance shall be blocked as much as possible, Britain being the principal target of the Japanese campaign for that purpose. ✓
- Recurrence of war with America and Britain is unavoidable for the completion of the construction of Greater East Asia. Care must, therefore, be taken to adjust the speed and order of our construction in such a way that the next war will not be caused prematurely. During such times, if the Soviets are firm and powerful, we must beware of an alliance between them and America and Britain. ✓

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7. The worst thing that might happen is that the Soviets, Britain, and America might form an alliance, China rise again against Japan, and Japan be forced to fight them all at once. Even in this case, an effort shall be made to crush them separately, even if only from the strategic point of view.

8. Our national strength and war strength shall be prepared and developed in an autonomous and methodical manner so that we may be able to meet the foregoing principles of war.

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(3) Cardinal Points of Total War.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the present and future hostile countries possess their respective peculiarities in accordance with conditions there. Given below are the cardinal points to be taken into consideration in the Imperial Country's strategy towards the respective Powers:-

1. Toward America.

First its military power in the East Asia Sphere shall be destroyed. Then strategic bases and areas with important national resources which are absolutely essential to us shall be secured and maintained. Our national and military power shall be thus strengthened and, most important, our position shall become so strengthened that we will become indomitable.

a. Care shall be taken to prevent an American alliance with Britain and the Soviets. Preparation of the necessary military strength shall be effected and also a strategically superior position shall be maintained. On the commencement of war, American influence in East Asia shall be expelled.

b. By maneuvers in Central and South America, and in nations friendly toward America efforts shall be made to weaken the United States proper, and at the same time the sources of supply for her national defense from South America, and particularly, from East Asia shall be constricted and cut off.

c. Efforts to take advantage of her racial and religious weak points should be attempted in order to make her fall into confusion. These may take the form of direct or indirect tactics. Efforts shall at the same time be made to make the Americans lose their fighting spirit.

2. Toward Britain.

Britain, due to its geographic divisions and the self-supplying characteristics of its national structure, is the weakest of the hostile countries. A decisive military operation in East Asia and the subjection of the India and Australia areas are aimed at.

a. While remaining on guard against any /British/ alliance with the Soviets and America, our country will crush her (Britain's) power in East Asia at the commencement of war, and in particular, India and Australia shall be placed under our control and cut off from their contact with Britain.

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b. Thus a position which will enable us to hold out for a long time will be established. In the attempt to destroy the British Empire, operations to destroy her trade lines shall be intensified. Also the supply routes for food from India and Australia shall be cut.

c. The constituent parts of the British Empire shall be separated psychologically by taking advantage of the differences of interests among them.

3. Toward the Soviets.

A decisive military operation is possible in East Asia. But for the collapse of the Soviet mainland, a cooperative operation will be necessary with countries friendly to us in Europe.

a. An alliance between the U.S.S.R. and America and Britain against Japan shall be closely guarded against, but as soon as war breaks out, her military power in East Asia must first of all be destroyed.

b. In cooperation with our comrade countries, her internal collapse shall be aimed at. Her weak points are her social frictions, and the differences of ideologies between the rulers and the ruled.

4. Toward China.

First of all hostile elements shall be destroyed by military power; once the key points are taken, the interior area shall be penetrated by our influence by either military power or economic means.

In short, the total war strength of the Imperial Country is chiefly composed of its military power; and the first requisite is to clear East Asia of the influence and aggressive power of hostile nations. For this purpose, the manifestation and promotion of the traditional spirit of militarism is necessary.

Next, to cope with a lengthy war, it is necessary to positively occupy important areas, to establish a position of self-supply, and to carry out economic warfare against Britain and America by placing the Southern areas under our control and possession. Furthermore, the internal collapse and particularly colonial collapse of hostile countries shall be aimed at, by our developing a warfare of propaganda. And for the purpose of gaining a favorable situation in general, diplomatic stratagems shall also be conducted to restrict the number of hostile countries and to secure allies.

All the plans mentioned above can hardly be achieved in a short period of time. Therefore, with far sight into the future and carefully-planned preparations, the foundations of the scheme must be laid down on a large scale beginning in peace-time.

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The significance of total war originates from the ideal of our country's foundation and is based on the moral national plan. Our ultimate aim and object is none other than that. We must bear in mind, therefore, how different our aim is from that of European and American countries.

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